Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SAO PA 00423 01 OF 03 251517Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SAO PAULO 0423

E.0. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, BR
SUBJ: BUSINESSMEN'S DISCONTENT WITH GEISEL GOVERNMENT LEADS
TO DEMANDS FOR DEMOCRATIC REFORMS

REF: BRASILIA 1203; BRASILIA 1040

1. SUMMARY: A SERIES OF STATEMENTS BY BUSINESSMEN IN FAVOR OF A RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC RULE REVEALED A SHIFT AWAY FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF IMPORTANT SECTORS OF BUSINESS, LONG CONSIDERED ONE OF THE MAIN-STAYS AND BENEFICIARIES OF THE 1964 REGIME. THE BUSINESSMEN'S PRINCIPAL COMPLAINT -- DIRECTED SPECIFICALLY AT PRESIDENT GEISEL -- IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT TAKES DECISIONS OF VITAL INTEREST TO BUSINESS WITHOUT CONSULTATION. THEY FEEL PARTICULARLY BUFFETTED AS THE ADMINISTRATION HAS RESTRICTED CREDIT AND MOVED TO COOL OFF THE ECONOMY. THE BUSINESSMEN'S LONG TERM CONCERN, HOWEVER, IS WITH BEING SQUEEZED OUT BY COMPETITION FROM STATE ENTERPRISES AND FOREIGN MULTINATIONALS. THE GOVERNMENT REACTED TO THE PROTESTS WITH A COMBINATION OF IRRITATION AND OFFERS OF IMPROVED COOPERATION, CAUSING THE BUSINESSMEN TO BACKDOWN IN THEIR DEMANDS AND BREAK RANKS. INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE MINISTRY SEVERO GOMES WAS OUSTED FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PROCESS (REFTEL), REPLACED BY THE MORE
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PAGE 02 SAO PA 00423 01 OF 03 251517Z

ORTHODOX CALMON DE SA. THE DISCONTENT, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, OF AN IMPORTANT SECTOR OF BUSINESS - THOSE WHO HAVE PUBLICLY DECLARED IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRACY - IS A CAUSE FOR CONCERN FOR THE REGIME. BUT THE GOVERNMENT CAN STILL COUNT ON SUPPORT FROM THOSE BUSINESSMEN WHO HOPE THE GOVERNMENT WILL IMPROVE THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

2. A STATEMENT ON FEBRUARY 1 BY JOSE PAPA, PRESIDENT OF THE SAO PAULO COMMERCIAL FEDERATION, CALLING FOR A "RETURN TO A FULL STATE OF LAW" HAS FOUCUSED NATIONAL ATTENTION ON THE UNHAPPINESS IN SOME BUSINESS SECTORS WITH THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT, IRRITATED THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE REMOVAL OF SEVERO GOMES AS MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE (REFTEL). PAPA SAID: "OUR POSITION IS THAT OF THOSE WHO SERENELY, MATURELY CONSIDER THAT THE COUNTRY OUGHT TO BEGIN A RETURN TO A FULL STATE OF LAW. WE WANTED A DEMOCRATIC REGIME, NOT A SPURIOUS ONE, WHEN WE PREPARED THE MARCH 31 MOVEMENT." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT BUSINESSMEN WERE IN FAVOR OF LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY AND DIRECT ELECTIONS, ADDING THAT A NEW PHASE IS BEGINNING IN BRAZIL -- THAT OF THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. PAPA'S STATEMENT FOLLOWED BY ONLY HOURS A WIDELY REPORTED STATEMENT BY THEN MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE SEVERO GOMES, WHO SAID HE WAS IN FAVOR OF THE "OPENING OF POLITICAL DEBATES, SO THAT CONFLICTING INTERESTS CAN BE REVEALED AND SO THAT THERE CAN BE A PACT OF ACCEPTANCE AND NOT SUBMISSION." THE STATE-MENTS OF PAPA AND GOMES WERE SECONDED BY SOME IMPORTANT SPOKES-MEN OF OTHER BUSINESS GROUPS: CLAUDIO BARDELLA, PRESIDENT OF THE BRAZILIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC INDUSTRY, JOSE MINDLIN, DIRECTOR AND FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SAO PAULO INDUSTRI AL
FEDERATION, PAULO VILLARES, A RISING YOUNG INDUSTRIALIST. THESE MEN SEPARATELY URGED GEISEL TO MAKE THE POLITICAL DECISION IN FAVOR OF DEMOCRACY, AVERRED THAT THE COUNTRY WOULD FOLLOW, AND THAT THERE WAS NO OTHER SOLUTION. LAERTE SETUBAL, DIRECTOR OF THE FEDERATION OF INDUSTRIES OF SAO PAULO, WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE "ARMED FORCES FOR SOME TIME HAVE BEEN GETTING TIRED OF BEING THE PRAETORIAN GUARD OF THE REGIME AND THEY HOPE THAT THE ENTREPRENEURIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASS WILL ACHIEVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP." IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THE STATEMENTS BY PAPA AND SEVERO GOMES, NEITHER OF WHOM ARE WELL REGARDED IN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, WERE SECONDED BY RESPECTED BUSINESS LEADERS.

3. THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS THAT PAP'S STATEMENT -- AND THAT OF GOMES -- HAD NOT BEEN WELL RECEIVED BY THE GOVERNMENT. RESPONDING TO WHAT MAY HAVE BEEN A SUMMONS, PAPA DISCUSSED THE STATEMENT WITH SAO PAULO GOVERNOR PAULO EGYDIO ON FEB. 3. HE CAME AWAY FROM THE PLACE SAYING THE REGIME WAS "WONDERFUL" AND ATTEMPTED TO SOFTEN HIS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY REGIME AS "SPURIOUS." IN A SUBSEQUENT QUICK VISIT TO BRASILIA, PAPA IS REPORTED TO HAVE RECEIVED SOME "ATTITUDINAL RE-ADJUSTMENT" COUNSELING
FROM SNI GENERAL FIGUEIREDO.

4. GOVERNOR PAULO EGYDIO IN TURN SAID THAT PAPA'S STATEMENT WAS A LEGITIMATE EXPRESSION OF OPINION IN SAO PAULO WHICH HE WOULD INCLUDE IN HIS REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT ON POLITICAL REFORMS. JOSE BONIFACIO, THE GOVERNMENT LEADER IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES,

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

CALLED PAPA'S STATEMENTS PART OF A DEVELOPING MOVEMENT TO "IMPUGN THE REVOLUTION." IN WHAT WAS PROBABLY THE GOVERNMENT'S CONSIDERED RESPONSE TO THE PAPA STATEMENT, MINISTER OF FINANCE SIMONSEN AND NEWLY APPOINTED MINISTER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE CALMON DE SA SAID, "BUSINESSMEN WHO HAVE POLITICAL AMBITIONS SHOULD USE THE POLITICAL PARTIES." IN A MORE CONCILIATORY VEIN, SIMONSEN ASSURED REPORTERS THERE WOULD BE NO REPRISALS AGAINST THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY. CALMON SAID, "THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN AN AMPLE DIALOGUE WITH THE BUSINESS CLASS, WHICH BEARS THE GREATEST REPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROMOTION OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT."

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SAO PA 00423 02 OF 03 251530Z
ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 SAO PAULO 0423

5. THE INTIAL REACTION IN THE BROADER BUSINESS COMMUNITY TO THE FEB. 1 PAPA STATEMENT WAS MIXED AND CAUTIOUS. WHILE THERE WERE A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT OR ENDORSEMENT, SOME OTHER KEY EMPLOYER SPOKESMEN STRADDLED THE ISSUE, EXPRESSED OPEN OPPOSITION OR REMAINED SILENT. AS A GOVERNMENT IRRIATION BECAME APPARENT, HOWEVER, THERE WAS SOME BACKTRACKING EVEN AMONG THOSE BUSINESSMEN WHO HAD OPENLY SUPPORTED PAPA'S IDEAS. TEOBALDO DE NIGRIS, PRESIDENT OF THE SAO PAULO FEDERATION OF INDUSTRIES, CALLED ON SECOND ARMY COMMANDER GENERAL DILERMANDO TO EXPLAIN THAT WHILE HIS ORGANIZATION SUPPORTED DEMOCRACTIZATION AT THE PROPER TIME AND IN THE PROPER WAY, PAPA'S CHOICE OF WORDS WAS UNFORTUNATE.

6. IN POLITICAL CIRCLES THE PAPA STATEMENT AND THE BUSINESSMEN'S DEMANDS IT PRESUMED TO EXPRESS WERE MET WITH SOME SKEPTICISM AND CYNICISM. ARENA SPOKESMEN ROSE DUTIFULLY TO THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION AGAINST PAPA'S CLAIM OF SPURIOUSNESS.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

COMMENTARY IN O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, FOR EXAMPLE, QUESTIONED THE REPRESENTATAVITY, LEGITIMACY AND SINCERITY OF THE BUSINESS SPOKESMAN BECAUSE THEY HEAD ORGANIZATIONS SUBORDINATED TO THE GOVERNMENT, AND BECAUSE THEY OWE THEIR ELECTIONS TO THEIR POSTS TO "PETTY AND IN-DIVIDUALISTIC POLITICAL MANEUVERING RATHER THAN COMMITMENT TO BROAD
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 SAO PA 00423 02 OF 03 251530Z

CLASS INTERESTS. PRESS COLUMNISTS AND CARTOONISTS IRREVEREN-LY COMPARED PAPA'S CHANGED POSITION TO THE MIRACULOUS CONVERSION OF THE APOSTLE PAUL ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS. SEVERAL ARENA POLITICIANS HINTED THAT BUSINESSMEN'S POLITICAL DEMANDS WERE MOTIVATED BY PIQUE AT HARDER TIMES BROUGHT BY GOVERNMENT AUSTERITY MEASURES. IN THIS VIEW, PERNAMBUCO GOVERNOR MOURA CALVALCANTI OBSERVED WEIGHTILY THAT, "IN MOMENTS OF CHALLENGE, SOME MEN HAVE THE COURAGE TO CONFRONT THEM, EVEN AT THE SACRIFICE OF SOMETHING THEY HAVE FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE COLLECTIVITY. OTHERS DO NOT RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO EARNING LESS ."
THE CHORUS OF APPROVAL FROM THE MDB SIDE WAS MARRED BY SIMILAR OBSERVATIONS FROM SEVERAL OPPOSITION LEGISLATORS, WHO CRITICIZED THE TARDY MANIFESTATION OF ENTREPRENEURIAL CONCERNS FOR DEMOCRACY AND/OR ATTRIBUTED THEM TO POCKETBOOK STIMULI. MDB DEPUTY FREITAS NOBRE DECLARED, "THE ENTREPRENEURIAL CLASS AWOKE TO THE INSTITUTIONAL REALITY, AFTER THE WIDENING OF THE CRISIS AND IN DEFENSE OF THEIR MOST DIRECT INTERESTS."

7. BACKGROUND TO BUSINESS DISCONTENT. BUSINESS IRRITATON WITH GEISEL'S DECISION-MAKING STYLE AND ESPECIALLY WITH THE ADMINISTRATION'S

ECONOMIC TEAM GREW ALL LAST YEAR. BUSINESS-MEN COMPLAINED THAT THEY WERE HIT BY NEW TAXES OR IMPORT DEPOSIT REQUIREMENTS OR REGULATIONS FROM ONE DAY TO THE NEXT. WITHOUT FOREWARNING, THEY COULD NOT PLAN. HORACIO COIMBRA, PRESIDENT OF CACIQUE, BRAZIL'S LARGEST SOLUBLE COFFEE COMPANY, PRIVATELY CHARACTERIZED GEISEL AS A PRESIDENT "WHO DOES NOT DELEGATE AUTHORITY TO HIS MINISTERS AND DOES NOT GET AROUND TO THE DECISIONS HIMSELF."

8. BUSINESS DISCONTENT WITH THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION SNOWBALLED DURING JANUARY. WHILE PAPA'S FEBRUARY 1 PUBLIC CRITICISM WAS THE MOST PROVACATIVE IT WAS ONLY ONE OF SEVERAL PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF COMPLAINT OR APPEALS FOR CHANGE BY BUSINESS COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR. IN ITS JANUARY 7 PUBLICATION OF AN ASSESSMENT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS, THE SAO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SAO PA 00423 02 OF 03 251530Z

PAULO INDUSTRIAL FEDERATION (FIESP) CRITICIZED THE GOVERNMENT FOR

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

(A) POOR MANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY (NOT MEETING ITS GOALS SET OUT AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH YEAR), (B) NOT PROVIDING INFORMATIOON TO BUSINESSMEN ABOUT UPCOMING DECISIONS WHICH CONCERN THEM, (C) FAVORING PUBLIC SECTOR INVESTMENT WHILE RESTRICTING PRIVATE INVESTMENT AND (D) HAMPERING EXPORTS BY INSUFFIEIENT EXCHANGE ADJUSTMENTS, IMPORT RESTRICTIONS AND BUREAUCRACY. THE TONE OF THE FIESP DOCUMENT WAS THAT OF WANTING TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT BUT BEING HAMSTRUNG BY LACK OF KNOWLEDGE. THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE SPATE OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS WAS THE GOVERNMENT'S DECREE OF THE RETURNABLE DEPOSITS ON GASOLINE AND FULE OIL. (BRASILIA 0714) FIANCE MINISTER SIMONSEN HAD BEEN IN SAO PAULO THE DAY BEFORE IT WAS ANNOUNCED, TALKING TO BUSINESSMEN ABOUT ENERGY CONSERVATION MEASURES, BUT HAD NOT MENTIONED IT. EINER KOK, PRESIDENT OF THE SAO PAULO INDUSTRIAL MACHINERY SYNDICATE, TOLD CONGEN SAO PAULO OFFICER ON JANUARY 17 THAT THE GOOD IMPRESSION SIMONSEN HAD CREATED TURNED TO BITTERNESS AT THEIR FEELING OF BEING DECEIVED.

9. IN RIO ON JANUARY 25, NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFEDERATION PRESIDENT THOMAS POMPEU CALLED FOR A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY AS A SYSTEM THAT WOULD GUARANTEE PRIVATE ENTERPRISE'S PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONS CONCERNIG IT. PLANNING MINISTER REIS VELLOSO WAS SNUBBED AT A MEETING OF FIESP IN SAO PAULO ON JANUARY 27. FEW BUSINESSMEN CAME, QUESTIONS WERE PRO-FORMA, AND SOME BUSINESSMEN LEFT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE PROGRAM. THE AFFRONT WAS SEEN AS DEMONSTRATING THAT BUSINESSMEN WOULD NO LONGER ALLOW MINISTERS TO TRY TO CONVINCE THEM TO SUPPORT GOVERMENT POLICIES WHICH HAD BEEN DECREED WITHOUT THEIR KNOWLEDGE OR CONSENT. LIBERAL FOLHA DE SAO PAULO WENT SO FAR AS TO DESCRIBE THE BASIC ISSUE AS TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION. FIESP PRESIDENT DE NIGRIS TOLD CONGEN ON JANUARY 27, JUST BEFORE THE MEETING WITH VELLOSO, THAT BUSINESSMEN WERE UNHAPPY WITH THEIR ROLE. HE COMPLAINED ABOUT THE DECISION-MAKING STYLE OF THE GOVERNMENT. MINISTERS HAVE LITTLE AUTHORITY. KEY DECISIONS ARE TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT, AFTER MINIMUM CONSULTATION. DE NIGRIS DESCRIBED GEISEL AS HAVING A VERY DIFFICULT, CLOSED PERSONALITY. THE NEXT DAY NATIONAL BANK FEDERATION PRESIDENT THEOFILO DE AZEREDO SANTOS, SPEAKING AT A CONFIDENTIAL

DINNER IN HOMAGE OF FINANCE MINISTER SIMONSEN, MADE AN APPEAL FOR A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY TO PROTECT BRAZIL'S SOCIAL SITUATION AND ITS FUTURE GROWTH.

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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

ACTION ARA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 SAO PAULO 0423

10. COMMENT: FINMIN SIMONSEN IS THE ONLY ECONOMIC MINISTER WHO STILL RETAINS SIGNIFICANT RESPECT AMONG BUSINESSMEN. HE WAS DESIGNATED ECONOMIC POLICY COORDINATOR LAST OCTOBER BUT HIS RECENT EVASIVENESS WITH BUSINESSMEN HAS RAISED FRESH DOUBTS ABOUT THE EXTENT OF HIS AUTHORITY. PLANNING MINISTER VELLOSO, A HOLDOVER FROM THE MEDICI ADMINISTRATION, HAS LOST MUCH CREDIBILITY.

11. BUT BUSINESSMEN'S DISCONTENT WITH THE REGIME GOES DEEPER THAT EXASPERATION WITH THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION-MAKING STYLE OR BRAZIL'S CURRENT WOES. MANY BRAZILIAN ENTREPRENEURS FEEL THEY ARE GRADUALLY BEING SQUEEZED BY COMPETITION FROM STATE ENTERPRISES, WHICH OFTEN HAVE RECEIVED PREFERENTIAL ACCESS TO CREDIT, AND FROM FOREIGN MULTINATIONAL ENTREPRENEURS FEAR THAT THEIR SCOPE OF ACTION IS BEING CIRCUMSCRIBED BY THE "STATIZATION" OF THE BRAZILIAN ECONOMY. LACK OF CONSULTATION WITH PRIVATE ENTERPRISE ON MATTERS THAT CONCERN IT IS A MANIFESTATION OF THE INCREASINGLY SELF-CONTAINED AND CENTRALIZED BRAZILIAN BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM.

12. THE GOVERNMENT'S DISPLAY OF FIRMNESS AGAINST THE DISSENTING BUSINESSMEN, UNDERSCORED IN PART BY THE DISMISSAL OF SEVERO GOMES, ITS WARNINGS AGAINST IMPORPER POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND ITS RENEWED COMMITMENT TO CLOSER CONSULTATION WITH BUSINESSMEN HAVE EITHER CONFIDENTIAL

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INTIMIDATED OR APPEASED OST OF THE DISSENTERS FOR NOW.

13. EVEN SO PAPA'S INITIATIVE, DESPITE ITS SPONTANEITY AND THE PROMPT

RETREAT BY HIM AND OTHER BUSINESSMEN FROM IT, IS A REVEALING SYMPTOM OF A DEEPER DISENCHANTMENT ON THE PART OF AN INTEREST GROUP THAT WAS ONE OF THE 1964 REVOLUTION'S MAJOR BACKERS AND BENEFICIARIES. WHILE PAPA'S EFFORT WAS NOT BROADLY SUPPORTED AND WHILE HE RETREATED WITH THE REST HIS APPEAL STILL HAD SOME EFFECT. THE

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

STATEMENT GOT THE ATTENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH APPEARS TO BE AWARE OF THE POTENTIAL DANGER OF A PRIVATE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN OPPOSITION. THE GOVERNMENT'S DISPATCH OF THE THREE TOP ECONOMIC MINISTERS TO SAO PAULO FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH BUSINESSMEN POINTS TOWARD A RENEWED EFFORT TO OPEN THE CHANNELS OF CONSULTATION AND TO DISPLAY HIGH-LEVEL CONCERN FOR BUSINESSMEN'S VIEWS AND GRIEVANCES. NOTWITHSTANDING THE GOVERNMENT'S WARNING THAT POLITICS SHOULD BE DONE THROUGH THE POLITICAL PARTIES, THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY MAY BE EMBOLDENED RATHER THAN DISSUADED BY THIS EPISODE TO TAKE A MORE POLITICAL APPROACH TO NATIONAL POLICY ISSUE (AS IT DID IN THE "STATIZATION" CONTROVERSY) AND TO MAKE MORE USE OF THE THREAT OF WITHHELD SUPPORT IN SEEKING A GREATER VOICE. (IT HAS BEEN NOTED BY PRESS ANALYSTS HERE THAT PAPA'S STATEMENTS GAINED NATIONAL ATTENTION IN LARGE PART BECAUSE THEY WERE MADE THROUGH

AN IMPORTANT BUSINESS ORGANIZATION RATHER THAN THROUGH A POLITICAL PARTY.) IN NATIONAL POLITICAL TERMS, THIS SYMPTOM OF WAVERING SUPORT OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY SYSTEM ADDS ONE MORE ELEMENT, POSSIBLY AN IMPORTANT ONE, OF UNCERTAINTY IN THE CURRENT UNSETTLED POLITICAL PICTURE. IT IS CLEAR THAT A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE BUSINESS CLASS HAS NOW JOINED WITH CIVILAIN POLITICIANS,

INTELLECTUALS, THE MEDIA, SOME ELEMENTS OF THE LABOR UNIONS AND THE CHURCH IN FAVORING A DEMOCRATIC OPENING.

14. AS MUCH OF THE SKEPTICISM APPARENT IN THE POLITICAL CLASS WOULD SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THE MOTIVES OF PAPA AND MANY OTHER DISSIDENT CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SAO PA 00423 03 OF 03 251544Z

BUSINESSMEN AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO TRUE DEMOCRACY IS SUSPECT. A MIX OF MOTIVES PROBABLY UNDERLIES THE PUBLIC APPEALS FOR A RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL RULE. PRIMARILY, THE APPEALS ARE A GESTURE OF PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT NGLECT AND INADEQUATE CONSULTATION AND AS A WARNING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERMENT THAT THE SUPPORT OF THE EMPLOYER CLASS IS NOT INCONDITIONAL. HOWEVER, A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF BUSINESSMEN AHAVE CONCLUDED THAT ONLY A DEMOCRATIC REGIME PROVIDES THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK THAT CAN GUARANTEE GOVERNMENT CONSULTATION. WE ACCEPT THAT SOME BUSINESSMEN WOULD NOW PREFER A MORE DEMOCRATIC (OR AT LEAST MORE PARTICIPATORY) SYSTEM, BELIEVING THAT IT WOULD NOT NECESSIARLY GIVE RISE TO COSTLY POLITICALY

INSTABILITY, AND THUS NOT DAMAGING TO A GOOD BUSINESS CIMATE OVER THE LONGER RUN -- THOUGH THEIR EXPECTATIONS WOULD DIFFER CONSIDERABLY AS TO WHAT GREATER DEMOCRACY MIGHT MEAN FOR BUSINESS CLASS INTERESTS. IT IS LIKELY THAT MOST BUSINESSMEN WOULD DEFINE THAT "DEMCORACY" THEY SEEK AS PERMITING A GREATER POLICY VOICE FOR THEMSELVES THAN AT PRESENT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME RETAINING SOME OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM'S TIGHT CONTROLS ON TRADE UNIONS AND OTHER SOCAIL PRESSURES. MANY BUSINESSMEN STILL FIND IT COMFORTABLE TO HAVE THE ARMY AVAILABLE AS A PRAETORIAN GUARD TO KEEP THE LABOR

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

FORCE DOCILE AND ANTI-CAPITALIST POLITICAL TENDENCIES SUPPRESSED.
END COMMENT.

15. EMBASSY CONCURS.
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Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

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Margaret P. Grafeld
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EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
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